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ister Schurman also advised the State Department that he had sent part of his legation guards to Tung Chow, near which an important American mission school is located.

With these precautions taken by the Americans and similar ones by other powers, the world settled down to await the developments of Wu's victory. In this country, Ma Soo, commissioner of the South China Republic, issued a statement on May 7, in which he said the civil war in China had only begun. He discounted the importance of Wu's success.

WHAT SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES SEES AHEAD

On April 21 the British Ambassador, Sir Auckland Geddes, delivered an address at the dinner of the Pilgrims Society which attracted widespread attention. It was a composite of hard-headed sense and spiritual vision and understanding. After "digging" the newspaper correspondents who had found many plots behind the scenes in the Washington Conference and saying that the absence of controversy in Anglo-American relations is symptomatic of the general trend in all international affairs, the Ambassador continued:

The other day it was my good fortune to stand on the brink of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. At first I felt my mind oscillating between the impressions that the bishop and the cowboy must have respectively received when, according to popular tradition, they were moved to characteristic utterance: "Mysterious and wonderful are Thy works, O Lord!" said the bishop; but the cowboy, "What a hell of a hole!" As I continued to gaze into that mighty chasm, I felt that I was face to face with Nature's parable of our post-war world. It was morning. There to the south, behind me, stretched, mile on mile, the desert and the plains and the little tree-clad hills, through which we had just come. There, to the north, before me, across the canyon, thirteen miles and more away, was the other edge of the level earth, more than a thousand feet higher than that on which we stood, tree-clad, green, and smiling in the sun, while from its sharp-cut edge streams of water sparkled, as they plunged into the gloomy depths.

As the parable translated itself, I saw mankind toil through the desert years and over the shady, tree-clad hills of pleasant custom and seeming permanence, suddenly to be faced by a deep, a dark, a rugged chasm, cut through its life and across its onward path by the greatest stream of human anguish and passion that has ever been.

It seemed to me in my reverie that I could hear the rank and file of humanity clamor that they would walk immediately in the northern woods that looked so green, so pleasant, and so cool; that they and their fathers had always walked on the broad land; that they were not going to clamber down any cliffs or risk themselves on any zigzag trails, and that the canyon could have no real existence, because nothing so monstrous, so strange, so awful, had ever been met by them before.

In my day-dream little companies of silent men and women began to detach themselves from the shouting, gibbering throng and painfully to work their way down narrow ledges into the canyon. As the sun rose higher and flooded the mysterious recesses with light, I could, as it were, see, far down, little bands of men and women ferry across the swollen river, where it flowed a mile or more below, and some, the most courageous, begin to scale the opposing heights. And yet beside me clamoring multitudes still seemed to repeat shibboleths that had gained currency among their fathers when they journeyed on the plains. It was remarkable that most of the talkers were sure that if it were not for the evil disposition of certain groups of their fellows all would have been across and among the pleasant trees long ago.

And the Canyon paid no attention, but remained majestic, wonderful, palpably silent, and Nature's parable ended.

That is where we are today. Some of us—the majority, perhaps—hover on the brink of the Grand Canyon of our nation's lives, unwilling, unable, to summon the courage required to face the exertion and discomforts of the journey from the dead past to the new future; but some, the minority, are hard at work cutting safe trails for the timid feet that must follow.

Look round the world as it is today. Listen to what hordes of men are saying. Do you not hear the old shibboleths? Can you not hear on every hand denials that there is any need to depart from the ancient customs and the well-tried ways? Whereas the truth is that the whole world has to pass through a dark valley of economic shadow, and that there was never such need for courageous leadership as now.

The great war has washed away, so that they are as if they had never been, great stores of wealth accumulated by thrifty generations. Some wealth, it is true, has been swirled by the flood into pockets and potholes round which men gather to squabble and fight; but most of it is gone beyond recall, like the snows of yesteryear. The world as a whole is poor, and only by the work and thrift of generations will its wealth be restored. At such a time, especially, it seems to me, no nation can gain anything by being on less than good terms with any of its neighbors. I cannot see that aught is to be gained by continuing to demonstrate that there would have been no canyon to cross but for the evil disposition of this group or that. To my mind, it is absurd to attempt to demonstrate that the canyon in our lives would have been filled up long since but for the continuing evil in the disposition of this other group or that.

My whole instinct, and I believe it is the true inspiration, is to say, "The canyon is there. None of us can be so happy as we might, nor so prosperous as we might, until all are across. Come, let us get together. Let us help one another. The descent is perilous. The river at the bottom, which we all have to pass, is still in flood. Its waters are laden with the boulders of hatred and the grit of jealousy. At the best, there is danger at its crossing. The ascent of the other side, we know, will try the stoutest heart and call for steady heads and concentrated purpose. Why should any try to cut another's rope or block another's path?"

It is in that spirit that for two years I have labored to represent in your great capital the nations which constitute the British Empire. It was in that spirit that the delegates of the British Empire assembled last autumn under the leadership of Mr. Balfour, as he then was, at the invitation of President Harding, to do what was in their power to make the Conference of Washington a success and a mark for all time in the passage of humanity through the economic shadows of the war. It was in that spirit, I am glad to testify, that your distinguished Secretary of State met and led the conference in all its sessions. It was that spirit, reflected in all the delegates, that made the conference what it was, the most successful of all the international meetings that have as yet concluded their labors. It is in the same spirit that the representatives of my country have gone to the conference that is now in session.

I beg of you, gentlemen, to see that, in so far as in you lies, all international undertakings which you can influence are conceived and executed in that spirit.

It is only necessary to listen to some of the rantings that assail our ears to learn that there are those who believe quite otherwise. Nor are such men the possession of any one country or the product of any one race. Though their name is legion, I think their power diminishes; but it will not cease until those who see plainly what should be done stand forth and in no uncertain tones tell the common people the naked truth, that the old ways are not suited to the new times; that there is a deep and a dark canyon which all must pass; that prosperity will only be found beyond its other brink, after all are across, and that none is so strong but he would do better with a helping hand.

It is my belief that the organization of friendship among the nations necessary to give effective expression to that spirit will come best and come most quickly if it be based

upon mutual respect and understanding between the English-speaking peoples. We are at once very similar and very dissimilar, but in our ultimate ideals of democratic government, of world peace and international justice, we are in essence identical. It surely should be more easy for us to co-operate than for any other pair of great peoples. But, though it would be a great end, I would not seek Anglo-American friendship and co-operation as an end in itself, but rather as a means to that greater end, the frank and friendly co-operation of all the free peoples of the earth.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I thank you for the great honor you have done me this evening. I thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak to you a second time, at the end of two years, and I thank you, too, for the good, the great work that the Pilgrims Society of New York has done to foster Anglo-American understanding alike when the weather seemed squally and now when it seems set fair.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN CO-OPERATION IN RUSSIA

In the May 8 issue of *Commerce Reports*, the weekly survey of foreign trade, published by the Department of Commerce, L. J. Lewery has an informative article on the decay and revival of co-operative effort among the Russian peasants under the Soviet régime. The article follows:

The agricultural co-operative unions were probably the most potent and universally ramified factor of rural economic life in pre-war Russia. They were rapidly consolidating the interests of the entire agricultural population of the country, and, through organizing production and selling, they were gradually doing away with the greatest handicap of the Russian peasantry—the small local middlemen, who stood between the peasants and efficient farm management.

Classified by the nature of their functions, the co-operative associations, as they existed before the Bolshevik régime, were divided into three basic forms:

(1) Consumers' or purchasing co-operatives, which maintained stores and supplied all sorts of goods for the current needs of the peasantry. Their operations developed rapidly after 1910. From 393 local organizations in 1910, with a turnover of 2½ million gold rubles, their number grew to 1,713 in 1915, with a turnover of 22 million rubles. At the present time, with compulsory or automatic membership of the whole population, introduced by the Soviet Government, the number of local organizations exceeds 17,000.

(2) Credit co-operatives, built up by the more prosperous and well-to-do classes of the peasantry. These were financed by the State and by private banks, and issued loans to individual peasant homesteads for specific economic objects, such as purchase of implements, seed, fertilizer, etc. There were more than 14,000 local credit associations and about 200 unions of these associations, the network covering the entire country.

(3) Producing co-operatives, represented chiefly by a strong group movement in the dairy domain and in the potato-starch trade. The Siberian Union of Dairymen, one of the greatest unions in Russia, was adversely affected by the war and was abolished by the Soviet Government, but was re-established toward the end of 1921.

The three groups of co-operatives worked hand in hand and were represented on the central board of the co-operative unions, which was known as the "Centrosoyus." They had several provincial banks and one great bank at Moscow—the Moscow Narodny Bank. Their indebtedness to the State and private banks was wiped out before the war and they accumulated substantial reserve funds, which were taken over by the Soviet Government and which depreciated together with Soviet currency.

SOVIET POLICY TOWARDS CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS

The Soviet authorities attempted to nationalize the co-operative associations and convert their free business activities into those of a governmental institution. By the decree

of March, 1919, all citizens of Soviet Russia were assigned to local territorial branches of the co-operative unions and all the officials of the organizations were appointed by the government. By a subsequent decree of January, 1920, the Soviets merged all the various kinds of co-operative unions by making of them all sections of the consumers' co-operatives; in other words, the problems of production, amelioration, and credit were subordinated to those of consumption. These measures led to the whole co-operative movement falling into complete decay. The peasantry lost confidence and interest in their local unions, since these became to them Soviet Government organs pure and simple. In March, 1921, Lenin publicly admitted the error of the Soviet policy toward the co-operatives and shortly after that there was issued the decree of April 7, which largely restored the elective principle in the management of the unions. Likewise the old ramifications of credit and ameliorative unions were brought back to life. The membership, however, still remains automatic for all citizens, and the branches are framed along territorial lines.

The representatives of the old Centrosoyus abroad at first refused to recognize the central board in Russia as reorganized by the Soviets. The former controlled considerable stores of all sorts of merchandise in Europe and America and funds deposited in London and New York branches of the Narodny Bank. The International Co-operative Association likewise would not deal with the new central board, but recognized only the representatives of the old Centrosoyus.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN NEW AND OLD CENTROSOYUS

In view of the emancipation of the co-operative unions from government control by the decree of April 7, 1921, an agreement was reached in Berlin in January, 1922, between the old representatives of the Centrosoyus and the delegation sent there by the newly elected central board at Moscow, which board included practically all the leaders of the co-operative movement who had been removed by the Soviet authorities in 1919. By virtue of this agreement the representatives of the old Centrosoyus transferred all the assets and liabilities of all the foreign organizations formerly controlled by that organization to the new Moscow Centrosoyus, which henceforward will be the one and only organization in the field. They relinquished the right to represent the Russian Central Union of Co-operatives abroad, and published a proclamation to all co-operative workers in Russia, as well as abroad, to place no obstacles in the way of the work and future development of the Centrosoyus. Part of the stores they had held abroad, to the amount of £200,000 sterling, are already on their way to Russia. Negotiations are now in progress regarding the stores held in New York to the value of \$700,000.

The reorganized Centrosoyus will operate independently of the London branch of the former government-controlled Central Co-operative Union as organized by Krassin—the "Arcos" (Ltd.).

There is some divergence of opinion between the former representatives of the co-operatives abroad as to the extent to which the present Centrosoyus is or is not controlled by the Soviet Government. These representatives, while surrendering their authority, stores, and funds, have in general declined to transfer their services or to pledge their allegiance to the reorganized Moscow Centrosoyus, because they do not believe in the principle of compulsory membership and certain other features of the administrative régime retained from the period of complete Soviet control. Others, and among them the vice-president of the old central board, believe that every possibility now exists to mold the activities of the organization, and that the time has arrived for them to join forces with the new Centrosoyus.

The International Co-operative Association has recognized the new Centrosoyus at the Brussels conference, and its delegation has arrived at Moscow, together with a delegation of the largest co-operative in the world, the English Society for Wholesale Purchase, of Manchester, which will take up the question of opening credits to the new Centrosoyus. It is reported that the German Nord-Ost Co. closed a contract with the Moscow Centrosoyus, on the strength of which the latter will be extended a credit in goods to the amount of 500 million marks. The Centrosoyus will pay in Russian raw materials.